tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

184 643 [173] from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin. The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 611 631 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out, it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 651 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his [644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] [649] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/ today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 [534 177 192] The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

565 631 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exercise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 631 565 511 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace. Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of foresight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off. In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 565 178 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north," Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 643 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a grandson of the former Aménokal Aïtarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Aménokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Aït Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Aït Loaïen.

[178] 161 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] [582] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

264 [415] The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their [182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271 272] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now [757 178] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are [177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

114 276 Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this, perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

[172] layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, 301 and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 quantities of amulets in leather 75 or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

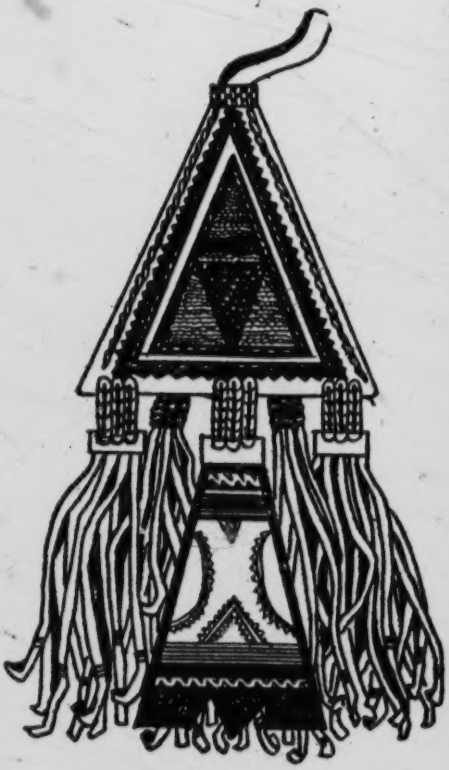


Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [228 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihăggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions.

438 531 517

[415]

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

177 517

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought.

517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He

[178 172]

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in [427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to 651 their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

651 Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of 651 this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in recent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class System. 233 All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pasture. 137 There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵄⵙⴼⴰ, plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoaït;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵖⴼ.

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

4: Benhazera--62 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

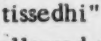
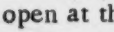
Chapter XI

Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi"  , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif"  , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"

Files, "azezoua"

Pliers, "ir'emdane"

A large hammer, "afadhis"

A small hammer, "tafadhist"

Tin-snips, "timouda"

A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubief has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have
[701] shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[727] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half
[721] of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaɣ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaɣ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheɣen* (sing. *Amacheɣ*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohaɣ* (sing. *Amahaɣ*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aheɣ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

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yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period.

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen.

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135).

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbub*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17-0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661).

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241 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd
171 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.
[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.
[221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*).
[252] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet
[134] for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeġhin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *aṛudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamaṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

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Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave-trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values of subsistence activities.

CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person (Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar, unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk) and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years

[1] [cf. p. 216]

[p. 209]

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by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north (the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanṛaset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanṛaset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremely low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the break-down of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ŗela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ŗela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*eBakkhar*). Abaggar, *Harratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language which is said to be related to *Songay*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably a cooking pot (*érir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*érir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *téllé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Ḥarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

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l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistemi*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tyatimen* (sing. *tyatim*), which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takalmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *silsleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p. 300]

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*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to Ahaggar 1929-30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:— (1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iullemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[114] [114] *342 178 [382]

[Text continues on p. 388]

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while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwllemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

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It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

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The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177

I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

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Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Ajjer* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

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643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
151 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[639] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abeliag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[643] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Télalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Rela* drum-group.

The Kel Rela drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imrad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Rela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Rela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeyri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amadal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Rela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imrad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Rela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

Tradition A. All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Radamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

Tradition B.I. This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[798] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[14] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

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used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel Tademakes* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaŗ*) and vassals (*Imŗad*, sing *Ameŗid*, or *Daŗa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amŗar*, but all important decisions are made by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeŗ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imŗad* tribes had no camels.

THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *tehazlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no

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Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

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582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence,
591 cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage.
581 Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.

582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

Mother's brother's daughter	3
Father's sister's daughter	7
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Mother's sister's daughter	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter	9
Other kinswomen	8
Marriages total	44

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

Mother's brother's daughter	7
Father's sister's daughter	4
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Other kinswomen	14
No blood-relationship	8
Marriages total	39

[178] These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes
582 living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages
591 are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

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585 602 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with [[84]] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri- [[87]] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[[60]] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 177 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 177 178 184 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

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433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Sanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–140; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

174 The question of the origin of North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Sanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the